1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ritual purity becomes, in this case, an index of the degree of concern in the festival. What is interesting to note is the widespread systematization of 'concern' in Coorg culture. The mother of the newly born infant has to observe pollution for a longer period than other relatives; and first-grade mourners have to observe mourning for a longer period than others. Not only the length of the period but also the number and character of the restrictions observed are used to mark off those with greater 'concern' in the event from those with less 'concern'. The greater the 'concern' the greater the bond.

The festival of a village-deity usually includes a ritual fast or *paṭṇi*: a day towards the end of the festival is called '*paṭṇi* day' and the villagers observe a ritual fast on this day. The fast day usually occurs before the festival (*nammé*) day. The festival day is regarded as the most important day of the festival, elaborate ritual being performed on this day, at the end of which animals are sacrificed. The various restrictions observed during the festival are broken on the festival day, usually towards evening. A big feast follows, which includes meat dishes and liquor, prohibited until now.

A ritual fast does not necessarily mean actual abstention from food. Frequently a ritual fast means only abstention from everyday food, and that too interpreted very narrowly. For instance, cooked rice grains and vegetable curry are the normal food among Coorgs, and this is prohibited at a ritual fast. But while cooked rice grains are prohibited, dishes made with rice-flour are not.

On the fast day Coorgs miss a meal, instead of which they consume pancakes made of rice-flour, and *pāyasá*, a sweet liquid dish made with split green gram. Pancakes and green gram *pāyasa* are very commonly eaten during ritual fasts in the Tamil country.

Coorgs are forbidden to eat pancakes and green gram *pāyasa* during weddings and while birth- and death-pollution last. As far as they are concerned this diet seems to be confined to the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. It is difficult to see the purpose of the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. While the observance of a ritual fast on the festival day till the rites are completed is understandable, a ritual fast on the day before the festival day is not easy to understand, especially if the villagers are permitted to eat the normal festival diet on the morning of the festival day. The fast day seems to exist quite

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW

unrelated to the rest of the structure of the festival of a village-deity.[1]

X

Some of the ritual acts performed and practices observed at mourning are obviously reversals or inversions of the acts and practices performed on good-sacred or auspicious occasions. For instance, the corpse is made to lie on a mat spread with the underside on top. It is true that like the subject of *mangala* the corpse is dressed in a white gown, but the latter is reversed in some way: it is worn with the underside uppermost, or with the left end of the gown coming on top of the right end. On auspicious occasions the proper side has to be on top, and the right end should rest on top of the left.

After the corpse has been laid in the grave, the surviving spouse throws three handfuls of earth into the grave. He (or she) twists his hand (*terangai* = twisted hand) while throwing the earth into the grave. The eldest son and other relatives follow the surviving spouse. If the corpse is going to be cremated instead of being buried, the surviving spouse sets fire to the pyre by thrusting a firebrand into it. Again, he employs the twisted hand while setting fire to the pyre (*terangoḷḷi* = twisted firebrand).

In ritual circumambulation, movement in the clockwise direction is prescribed for auspicious occasions, while anti-clockwise movement is prescribed for inauspicious occasions. The groom goes round the sacred tripod stool clockwise. A devotee goes round the temple clockwise. But the mourners go round the funeral pyre in the anti-clockwise way. Similarly, the bier is thrice carried round the paved yard before the mourning-house, the bier carriers moving anti-clockwise.

There is an interesting little problem here: while clockwise movement is restricted to auspicious occasions and anti-clockwise movement to inauspicious occasions, on both kinds of occasion the subject goes round thrice. That is to say, both the mourner as well as the groom goes round *thrice*. How is it that the principle

[1] The restrictions observed during the village-deity's festival vary from village to village. As regards the food restrictions observed on the fast day the general idea seems to be to avoid everyday diet and to starve oneself as far as possible. In some festivals only roots and boiled plantains are allowed. Steam-baked pudding (*puṭṭ*), a favourite dish of Coorgs, is prohibited in some places. Green gram *pāyasa* (liquid dish) is generally allowed except in a few villages.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

171 offered every day, in others once a week, while still others come to
778 life only annually or once every few years, when the festival of the
782 deity is being celebrated. Such a festival usually lasts several days
[785] and culminates in the sacrifice of fowl, sheep, goats, and buffaloes.
[789] Devotees walk barefoot across fire, gash themselves with swords, and so on, on the last day of the festival.

171 While the priests at the Sanskritic temples are usually[1] Brahmins,
793 men belonging to one of the non-Brahmin castes are frequently priests at the temples dedicated to village-deities. Here again practice varies from region to region, village to village, and temple to temple. For instance, in Coorg, Brahmins from South Canara are commonly priests at temples dedicated to village-deities. In Mysore and the Tamil country, on the other hand, a member of a non-Brahmin caste is normally priest at the temple of a village-deity.

171 Throughout peninsular India, excluding Kēraḷa, Māri is a
776 common village-deity. She presides over epidemic diseases such as
[164] plague, smallpox, and cholera, which usually occur in summer. The propitiation of Māri with offerings and festival takes place in summer, and also whenever plague or cholera or smallpox breaks out.

Village-deities in peninsular India are frequently females. This is specially true of the area east of the Western Ghats. Ellamma (literally 'boundary-mother') is a familiar deity in Telugu and Tamil villages. Kāḷi is another familiar goddess.

All village-deities are not, however, goddesses: there are also gods. Ayyanār, for instance, is a very popular god in Tamil villages and he keeps watch on the village when the villagers are asleep. Bīrēdēvaru is a popular god in Kannaḍa villages.

171 All over peninsular India, with the exception of the Malayāḷam-
782 speaking areas, bull buffaloes are favourite animals for sacrifice to village-deities. In the Malayāḷam-speaking areas, however, the favourite animals for sacrifice are the pig, goat, sheep, and fowl. The south-western part of Coorg shares numerous cultural forms with Malabar, and there the bull buffalo is not sacrificed to village-deities. In the eastern and northern parts, however, buffaloes are sacrificed to village-deities, especially Māri. But

[1] I say 'usually' and not 'invariably' because sometimes there are non-Brahmin priests at the shrines of Sanskritic deities. For instance, in many temples dedicated to Shiva in one or other of his numerous forms there are Lingāyat priests.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Once the third round is completed, the Paṇika dances before the shrine. The villagers let off fireworks, the Mārāyas beat drums, and there is general tumult and shouting.

The Bhadrakāḷi oracle executes a vigorous dance for about forty-five minutes before the shrine. After the dance is over he selects two swords out of a number offered by the Brahmin priest and then proceeds to the roofed platform at the entrance to the temple, where he declares how many of the votive animals may be sacrificed to the Poleya deities. Then he proceeds to place one sword on his head and hit it with the other. Soon his head is covered entirely with blood. The Poleya oracles gash themselves following the Bhadrakāḷi oracle. The latter then proceeds to the veranda of the shrine, where he gashes himself more. This gashing is called *narāhuti* (human sacrifice). After the oracle has stopped gashing himself he answers questions. He orders the Paṇika to cease dancing and remove the *téré*. The Brahmin priest then offers him consecrated water which he drinks. The priest begs the oracle, identified with Bhadrakāḷi, to pardon the lapses which might have occurred through ignorance and to leave the village without inflicting any harm. The oracle orders those present to conduct the festival properly, and then the possession ceases.

The oracle is completely identified with the deity supposed to be possessing him. Even the Brahmin priest believed that the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi was really the deity herself. It was temporarily forgotten that he was a Coorg by caste. There was a look of fear on the priest's face when he was requesting the deity (the oracle) to leave the village without harming anyone. But though the oracle is identified with Bhadrakāḷi, he does not enter the innermost room where Bhadrakāḷi's image is kept. That is to say, the implications of the identification of the oracle with Bhadrakāḷi are not fully worked out. Only the priest may go into the innermost room, and this rule is not relaxed in favour of the oracle who is temporarily identified with Bhadrakāḷi.

After the Bhadrakāḷi oracle returns to his normal condition, the priest shuts the door of the shrine and goes home. Women, children, and a good many spectators also leave. Only the festival-priests and other functionaries remain, along with those who have brought the votive animals, to witness the decapitation that follows. The Paṇika, whose duty it is to sacrifice the animals brought by devotees, makes a small incision in the little finger of his left hand

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

181 trying to catch it. It chased the hare round the world. The moon
539 was watching the chase from above and he dropped a rope to help
824 the poor hare. The latter promptly climbed up the rope and settled down in the moon's lap. The cobra tries to catch its prey periodically, and whenever it does so, an eclipse occurs. When an eclipse is in progress Coorgs shout, 'O one-eyed Siddappa (cobra), set free, set free.' They shoot at the sky to make the cobra disgorge the hare.

181 The martial orientation of Coorg culture is not a recent phenomenon, nor does it seem to be in danger of dying out: in the last war over 1,300 Coorgs enlisted as soldiers, and the first Indian Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, General K. M. Cariappa, is a Coorg.

● 785 The *sanyasi*, the man who has renounced the world to pursue a life of prayer and contemplation, commands very great respect among Coorgs. He leads a celibate life, and in his case bachelordom does not constitute a drawback. The rules which apply to ordinary men do not apply to him. Preference for the *sanyasi* is found everywhere in India among Hindus.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 The Coorgs perform another ceremony called ghost-mask (*karanakola*)
769 with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is
787 performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, are requisitioned. At night he puts on, one after the other, five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the
[534] time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companions and behaves as if he were possessed by
[782] the Coorg ghosts. After each kola or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl, a coconut, fried rice and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called *Karana Barani*. The masks having been finished, a pin especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the *Kaimatta* and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls
[782] decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a *Kaimatta*, the pig offering takes place at the *Karanakotta*. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Some-
[785] times sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitations of certain formulae in loud voice, they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

776 Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to
782 secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhadrakali, who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggatnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the *Kadevaru*, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devarukadu, which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent Worship

77
825 Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The *Natas* or spots on which cobras have finished their course of terrestrial life are the place of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

preparations ended, the body is carried into the middle apartment (nadumane) of the house and laid upon a funeral bed, near to which a lighted lamp is placed. Instead of oil, those who can afford it, burn on this occasion clarified cow's butter in half a cocoanut placed on a handful of rice in a copper-dish. The whole company gathers round him and breaks out into loud wailing, beating the breast, tearing the hair, much in the usual Hindu style. Guns are also fired in honor of the dead. Towards evening the corpse is brought into the yard, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives, and a piece of money deposited in a copper-dish, containing a little cocoamilk, saffron, rice and well-water. Now the body is carried to the burial or burning ground. Each funeral guest approaches, dips his finger into the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two, and lays a piece of money into the plate. This collection goes to defray the expenses of the funeral. After all present have thus taken their last leave of the departed, the body is deprived of the ornaments, and laid in the grave or upon the pile, the contents of the funeral-lamp-dish are thrown upon it, and now the covering of the grave, or the burning of the pile, concludes the ceremony. Before this last scene, however, some relatives must be set apart for funeral observances until the Dhiti, the great ceremonial day, which is sometimes celebrated on the 28th day after the death of a person, i. e. at the end of the lunar month in which the decease has occurred, sometimes later, as late as six months, when peculiar honor is intended to be done to the departed. In the interval the relatives, who offer themselves for this service, have to perform a lesser course of fasting. They forego the early and the second meal, at six and nine o'clock. At noon they bathe, prepare their own food, eat part of it themselves (it consists of rice and a little pickled vegetables), and give the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Dhiti,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

nád and the day following at *Irpu* five miles further on where, at the foot of the "*Lakshmanatírtha fall*," thousands of pilgrims submit to the supposed sin-cleansing shower-bath. The way thither leads through a jungle, so that the landscape of Irpu, forming an open valley with a high wall of mountains at the back, bursts all at once upon the wanderer's view. The Lakshmanatírtha which, in its primordial course, descends in beautiful cascades over the almost perpendicular mountain wall lies before the eye and calmly meanders through the rice valley. On the right bank of it the Dévastána, an unsightly building, but adorned by a splendid specimen of the beautiful scarlet-flowered Asógo-tree, is situated. Near it and all along the banks of the stream pilgrims build their booths. The bathing place is 200 feet above the temple. The way is romantic, with steep rocks to the right, to the left the shallow winding stream, tumbling and foaming over large boulders, but during the monsoon swelling into a thundering torrent. All around the scene are the hundreds of pilgrims, Coorgs and Malayálam people. Every few steps a beggar is encountered exhibiting his deformities or sores. Here lies a fanatic as if dead with a wooden nail through his cheeks; there a boy with a lancet through his outstretched tongue and a smoking chatti on his stomach; here another man with a long knife across his throat, and a horrible corpse-like appearance. At the holy bath the stream high above breaks through a woody embrasure over a succession of rocky ledges till it spreads itself into a foaming shower-bath, received in a stony caldron formed by slippery sharp-edged rocks. Here the crowd of pilgrims finds its goal. The bathing multitude now forces its way under the falling spray. But few can, at the same time, make use of the sin-cleansing bath. See that old woman with bent head right under the spray, her body trembles from the shock, yet for several minutes she perseveres. There a father lifts his screaming child under the splashing water;